THE TERENA

on agriculture became even less important. Conditions of the physical environment and cultural contacts, therefore, help to explain the economic readjustments which the Terena appear to have made in the Chaco.

Geographically the region formerly occupied by the Terena belongs to the great depressed plain of the upper Paraguay River known as the Chaco. The northeastern part of this plain is characterized by vast swamps relieved here and there by low crystalline hills. This part of the Chaco, too, has greater precipitation than the semiarid central Chaco. The Terena speak of their Chaco home as being wet and refer to dangers from floods. Although the annual rainfall here is estimated at 50 inches, it must be remembered that the rains fall from October to May, the remaining months being extremely dry. In the summer months, temperatures may reach over 100° F. During the winter months of July and August cold winds blow from the south, often bringing below-freezing temperatures.

This part of the Chaco is classified as savanna, swampy near the Paraguay River but merging into scrub forest to the west, with denser "galeria" forests lining the more permanent water courses. In the past, this region was particularly rich in plant and animal life which could be readily converted to human use. Among the wild plants which were of subsistence value to man were such trees and shrubs as the algarroba (*Prosopis*), the acacia, the Barbary fig, the chañar (*Courlica decorticans*), mistol, the wild orange, and a wide variety of palms. Wild rice grew in the swamps. Locusts and the larvae and honey of bees were used. The scrub forests and swamps were the home of such animals as the deer, peccary, tapir, capybara, and the jaguar. Land and water birds were plentiful, and the rivers were stocked with many varieties of fish as well as turtles and shellfish.

Discussing the resources of the Chaná (Guaná), Sánchez Labrador says:

> The "Palo Santo" is the most widespread tree. They employ the hardwood of this tree to make spades to use in their fields, and pipes to smoke tobacco, which they appreciate very much. Birds are more abundant on the west bank of the river than on the east bank. The birds feed in the fields of the Chaná. They hunt many birds

[Text continues on P 8-A]
[P. 6-B]

MG
103
102
131
361
162
33

[p. 4]

MAP 2.—Part of southern Mato Grosso, showing location of Terena and Caduveo villages. The population of the important Terena villages under the control of Posts in 1940 was as follows: Bananal or Taunay, 900; Cachoeirinha, 660; Ipegue, 804; Cap. Vitorino, 186; Burity, 470 (two-thirds of which are Terena); Lalima, 184 (half of which are Terena); São João, 60 (Terena and Kinikinau mixed). The remainder of the Terena are located in independent villages like Limão Verde, Aldeia, Moreira, Passarinho, and in the penal Posts in São Paulo State. The total Terena population is estimated at 3,000. The population of the three Caduveo villages of Alves de Barros, Pitoco, and Nalique is not constant, owing to the nomadic habits of the Caduveo. The total population is estimated at 140. (For P. I. Ipegue on map, read P. I. Ipegua.)

2: Oberg E-5 (1946-1947) 1949 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena
Mbaya SK11

rounded by a number of hunters and when the jaguar attempted to break through the circle of hunters he was speared, the hunter catching the jaguar on his spear in midair. Game was also caught within a circle of a grass fire. Pitfalls made on deer, peccary, and tapir trails were also widely used. For birds and smaller game, the Terena used deadfalls and a variety of loop snares fastened to bent-over saplings. Ducks were caught by swimmers diving and coming up under the birds or by surprising them at night in shallow water where they could be killed with sticks or stones. Dogs were used for tracking and in driving game to places selected for dispatching them.

When a man hunted alone, the game he killed was his. This game was later divided among the members of the household. In communal hunts the carcass belonged to the man who was able to kill the animal. The owner later divided the meat among the hunters.

The Terena used hunting magic consisting of certain plants which were believed to bring good luck to the hunter. Shamans were believed to know the kinds of medicines that brought good luck. Animal fat and salt were considered harmful to the hunter.

Meat was eaten boiled or broiled over hot coals. The Terena also used the earth oven for baking and roasting meats.

AGRICULTURE

The Terena selected their croplands near streams because the soils were richer and the moisture more adequate in the bottom lands. Care had to be taken not to plant a field in an area subject to summer floods. Brushwood fences were built to keep out wild pigs and domestic animals such as cattle and horses. Gourd rattles were sometimes used to frighten away birds. Magic was employed to keep away insects and other parasites.

Sánchez Labrador has the following to say about agricultural lands of the Chaná:

> The greatest part of the territory consists of low lands, which are clayey during the rainy seasons. However, when the heat is intense water is extremely scarce and even drinking water cannot be found except near the Paraguay River or some other river which comes from the interior and runs amid trees. When water is scarce, the people move to places where water is plentiful and subsist on hunting and fishing. Before they leave their settlements they plant maize, gourds, cotton, tobacco, and

THE VILLAGE OF BANANAL

The village of Bananal (P. I. Taunay) is situated about 4 km. north of the railroad station of Taunay. Bananal and the surrounding Indian lands are located on a low plateau which rises gently from the valley of the Aquidauana River. The soils of the plateau, laterites and tropical red soils, are derived from a crystalline base. The native vegetation belonging to the savanna belt of Central Brazil consists of scrub forest and grass, with heavier forest in the permanent water courses. The plateau is cut by numerous streams which are practically dry in the dry season but swell into relatively large streams during the rains extending from October to April. Erosion is superficial, as the vegetative cover has not been disturbed by overgrazing or extensive plowing.

The village is laid out in rectangular blocks separated by broad streets lined with mango trees. The central avenue forms part of the road which runs from Taunay to the Terena village of Ipegue, some 3 km. northeast of Bananal. Surrounding Bananal and Ipegue are large fazendas, many of which are connected by minor roads or paths.

The water supply for the inhabitants of the village is furnished by 12 wells, ranging in depth from 40 to 50 feet, 6 of which were constructed by the Government. At least two of the Government wells are furnished with pumps, one being operated by a windmill. Water for the stock, washing clothes, and taking baths is furnished by two dams on the outskirts of the village. Firewood for cooking is cut in the scrub forest outside the village. Areas not fenced in for farming are used as common pasture.

The official center of Bananal is the Post, consisting of such buildings as the residence of the manager, the school, the hospital, and the official visitors' building. These buildings are all made of red brick with tile roofs and unglazed tile floors. They are fenced in and surrounded by orange, lemon, and mango trees. None of the buildings have more than one story. In addition to these Government buildings, there is the Protestant mission school and the Catholic church. The rest of the buildings belong to the Indians. From a total of 86 buildings in the village, 75 are occupied.

Terena houses vary, not so much in size and shape, as in the material from which they are con-

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 22-A--Analyst]

/9/

Preface

/01 In the area of scattered thickets and gallery forests /matas
/33 de beira-rio/ of southern Mato Grosso there lives one of the
/97 largest native groups in Brazil, the Terêna, of the Guaná fami-
/61 ly and Aruak language. They number some 5,000 individuals, a very high figure for a Brazilian tribe, since most of them do not add up to a tenth of this.

/463 Travelers on the Estrada de Ferro Noroeste do Brasil
/496/ /Northwest Brazil Railroad/ that crosses the region can see them hoe in hand working on farm plots, on horseback tending the cattle of some fazendeiro, in the maintenance gangs of the railroad itself, or, more rarely, selling carandá palm fans at the stations.

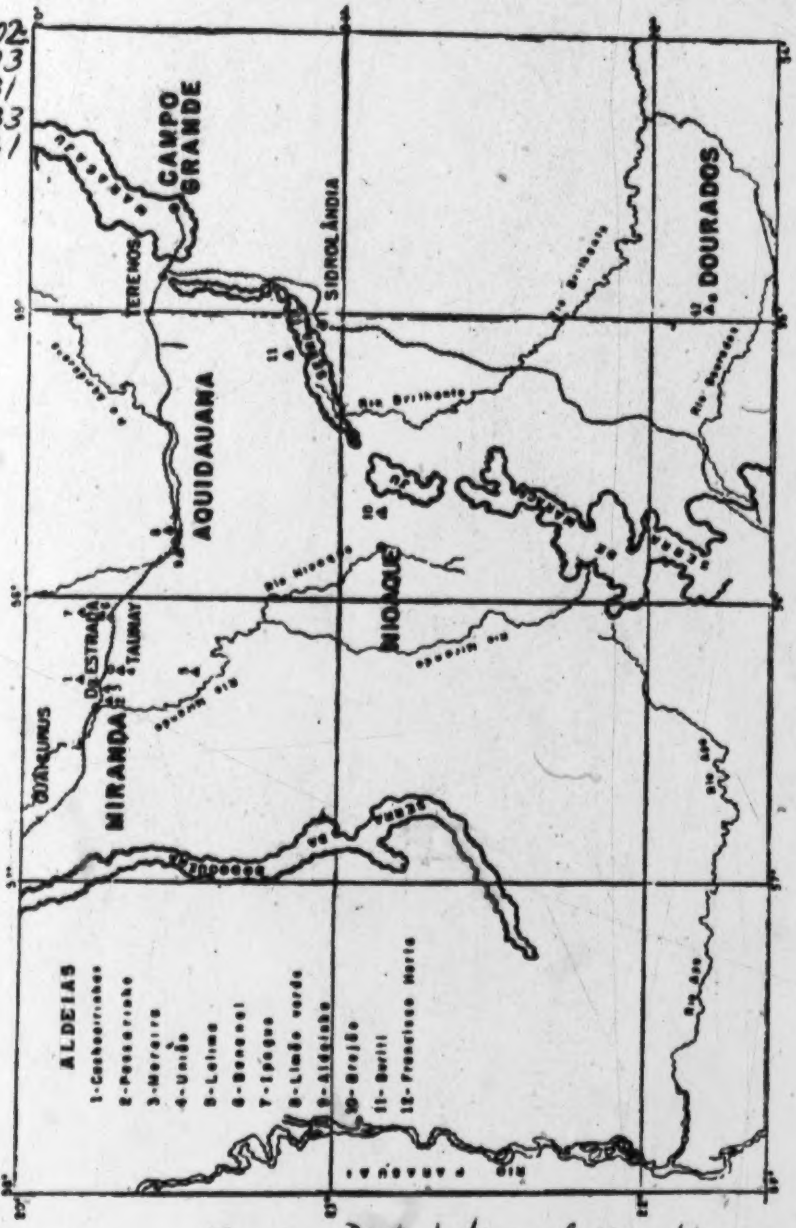
/77 It is difficult to identify them as Indians, since they dress, wear their hair, work, and live like the poor inlanders
/42 /sertanejos/ of the region. One or another of them will present
/91 a revealing Mongolian fold or the black, straight, stiff hair characteristic of the Indian and nearly all of them speak Portu-
/62 guese with an odd accent. Yet even these traits fail to attract
/71 much attention in a region where there are numerous Paraguayans and Bolivians with similar characteristics.

/19 In order to find out whether they are natives, it is necessary to talk to them or listen to the local people, who are always prepared to identify them and to point out numerous negative peculiarities which, in their eyes, make them different and set them apart.

/21 Indians of this sort, so little native, are not of interest
/77 to the classical ethnologist, who is interested precisely in those untouched groups that best preserve the peculiarities of their
/14/ traditional culture. For this very reason they have been the subject of very few studies. Yet they present as much, if not more interest than isolated tribes, because only their /10/ study will lead us to a better understanding of the process whereby tribal peoples are integrated into national societies and of

3:Oliveira--103a E-5,4 (1955-1958) 1960 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

102
103
131
133
361



Map 2. Distribution of the aldeas

/85 cont./ [Bananal and Ipegue]

361 tendency to urbanization, did not fail to contaminate Ipegue,
[628] for the simple reason that the inhabitants of Ipegue had to go
[496] through Bananal to reach the railroad line; this owing to the geographic position of Bananal, situated between that aldea
[133] and the neo-Brazilian settlement of Taunay. The boundary
[132] between the two aldeas is Ipegue stream, full during the rainy reason--December to February--and reduced to a stream in the
[312] dry season, easily crossed on foot. It and two reservoirs, one in each /86/ of the aldeas, supply the communities with water.
[731] Which is not to say that in some years Ipegue and Bananal have not suffered from total drought; this is also the problem of Cachoeirinha, Passarinho, and Moreira.

[184] The layout of Ipegue is the same as that of Bananal,
[348] excepting naturally that degree imposed by the tendency to a more rapid urbanization of the latter. It comprises a central nucleus of 50 houses, aside from the post (a subpost, subordinate to the Taunay Native Post), the school, and the Catholic
[491] church. At the boundary with Bananal, that is, close to Ipegue stream, thus next to the road that connects the two aldeas, we find five ranchos with their respective farm plots. On the other side, northwest of Ipegue, on the boundaries of the reservation, there is a concentration of ranchos, about a half
[241] score, at the place called "Roças." Similarly to Cachoeirinha and Bananal, the farm plots of the inhabitants of the central nucleus are quite far off, in duly fenced-in areas, protected not only from cattle but also from pigs and chickens.

621 Ecologically speaking, Ipegue and Bananal are tied to
439 the city of Aquidauana, whereas Cachoeirinha, Moreira, Passarinho, União, and Lalima are tied to Miranda. The major purchases in those communities are made in Aquidauana,
[441] while minor ones are made in Taunay. In this regard, we had
[443] the opportunity to meet the Terêna "bolichoeiro" of Bananal, in Aquidauana, and we saw the amount of his purchases to supply his store in the aldea. But, aside from Bananal and Ipegue, two other aldeas are also tied to Aquidauana and far more intimately so: they are Limão Verde and Aldeinha.

[Limão Verde and Aldeinha]

/90 cont./

346 As in the other communities with a large Protestant
[162] contingent, Aldeinha has its church, relatively large and built
of bricks. It is the best building in the aldea, not to say the
[485] only one; there is only one other house behind the church,
342 which serves to put up guests. The dwelling houses or ranchos
are in the style typical of nearly all Terêna aldeas: "pau-a-
368 pique" and "taipa" /i.e. with mud walls/. There is no school,
although the church building has already been used for this
875 purpose. It is interesting that, in spite of the fact that the
628 community supports a teacher in the place called "Água
Branca," in Brejão aldea (Capitão Vitorino), it complains
[297] about not having one to teach its own children.... This is what
might be called catechizing strategy: since in "Água Branca"
(and in Brejão as a whole) there are no "Believers," the leaders
of Aldeinha probably hope to catechize through the teacher
872 their "compatriots" in Brejão. The Aldeinha children attend
648 the município schools of Aquidauana, although they would
prefer to go to school in their own community, not only be-
cause of the distance, but also the difficulty they have in buy-
ing uniforms and shoes; cases of absenteeism from class owing
to lack of clothing are countless, as we were able to verify
197 in the course of our visits to the community. As for language,
178 it can be said that Aldeinha follows the example of the Terêna
communities that underwent a greater degree of the process
of social change, this being reflected in the gradual loss of
the tribal language, through the generations.

Brejão or Capitão Vitorino

361 Brejão or Captain Vitorino's aldea, as it is known, occu-
621 pies an area of 3,904 hectares, duly demarcated and with a
deed /titulo/ for 2,800 hectares. The native reservation is
[133] located in Nioac Município, with the Urumbeva River to the
north and the Maracaju range to the east. A document of the

M 621 175 [361] /87 cont./ Miranda was founded in the year 1797 by Caetano Pinto de Miranda. The topographical position taken by the Barão de Melgaco is as follows: 20° 14' south latitude, 58° 24' 16" longitude west of Paris.

M [727] [233] Miranda was raised to /the rank/ of villa on May 30, 1857. Completely destroyed in the year 1865 by the Paraguayans, the fields and houses were burned and the inhabitants who could not escape were slain; the cattle, principal wealth of this municipio, was transported, almost completely, to Paraguay, in a number in excess of 300,000 head. Those who returned in the year 1871 found Miranda thus devastated.

G M 233 162 The fields are excellent and are well situated for the pastoral industry. The municipio has about 15,000 inhabitants; the villa of Miranda has 78 houses with tile roofs and a good

M 361 368 number of ranchos, /88/ in addition a church, a cemetery, two public schools for the two sexes, and a private school, "Christovão Columbo," which is divided into two sections, for the two sexes, directed by Sr. Francisco Augusto Ribeiro, and which has received the prize as second-ranking school of the primary grades in the Brazilian Republic.

G M 133 M 505 The Miranda River is very small and flows into the Paraguay River; it is navigable by craft of shallow draft; from its mouth to the villa of Miranda it is approximately 180 kilometers. The only boat which navigates this river up to Miranda is a small steamer called the Erba, which belongs to Sr. Giasone Rebna, who is the only one who sustains the municipio of

G M 132 Miranda with his trading. The climate is moderate, the temperature indicates on the hottest days 34° C. in the shade,

G M 134 and it goes down as much as five degrees; in the winter it ranges from 22° to 28° C. Miranda has extremely fertile lands for agriculture.

G M 135 There are minerals in great quantities, such as gold, iron, hard coal /carbón de piedra/, rock crystal, marble, malacacheta /malachite?/, which have not as yet been worked.